643 784 356 The grass of the roof of this hut must never be removed, though it may rot owing to the rains. It is taboo. One simply puts a layer of new grass over the old one, a thing which is rarely done in the case of ordinary roofs.

643 184 722 In case of war, should the clan be obliged to leave the country, a special little hut is hastily built in the bush and the precious medicine is deposited therein. There is no fear that the enemy will take it, either Whites or Natives, because this hut also has the attribute of invisibility. This happened during the war of 1894 (1). In the case of the *mhamba* of the Tembe and Zihlahla clans it is different; the man who keeps it must run away with it and with the chief.

643 789 Such are the laws of the mphulo. This great medicine may certainly be regarded as a part of the regalia, and the most important part. It is, for the chief and sub-chiefs, a means of strengthening their authority, as will be seen in the description of the luma rite. On the other hand the mphulo is a collective possession, the powerful magic means by which the clan resists its enemies or conquers them. It occupies the very centre of the national life.

789 726 643 787 In the Manyisa clan the war-medicine is called *mabophe*, and is kept by a man called Chikiza, who belongs to the Ntjeko clan, not to the royal family. He is said to have inherited it from his forefathers. The medicine however belongs to the chief. It is administered as follows. The *ñanga* prepares small heaps of wood on the road, pours a little of the drug over them, sets fire to them and the warriors tread on the embers and extinguish the fire with their feet. This makes them invulnerable or at least protects them against fatal wounds. When they are ready to start for battle, the bones are thrown, and give the following intimation: 643 789 726 "Do not kill the first enemy you meet with, but catch him alive, be it a man or a woman, and bring him to the chief." The chief, accompanied by some indumas, must stab him outside the royal kraal; the body of the deceased enemy will then be cut open, and

(1) In the Nondwane the nyokwekulu is still kept by the heir of Maphunga, Magomanyana. The new chief, the usurper, tried to find it, but Godlela refused to give it to him. Thus Mabvesha has no *mphulo*.

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

789 the fat collected in order to mix it with the war medicine, the flesh
726 being left to the dogs to eat and destroy.

In some clans, chiefs possess *other personal charms* which are
643 very much dreaded and called *psitjemba*. So, in the Maluleke
789 clan, each of the children of the ancient chief Mashakadzi received
237 from him one of these psitjemba. It consists of a part of the skull of a child, the top of the head, where the pulse is seen beating at the fontanella. This has been smeared with the vitreous humour taken from the eyes of lions or elephants, and powders made from the skins of wild beasts. The possession of this charm gives the chief a supernatural power. If, being irritated with you, he invokes his gods by sucking it and emits the sacramental tsu, he can call on any wild beast he likes to kill you... He has sacrified with the psitjemba ; you will die!

643 Some chiefs of the Northern clans used to *swallow one of the*
787 *stones* found in the stomach of a crocodile. It is said that
825 crocodiles, when cut open, are found to contain a certain number of stones, as they are supposed to eat one each year, when the rainy season comes on. One of them is chosen and smeared with special medicines and swallowed by the chief. Natives firmly believe that this stone remains in the body of the chief, and that it is "his head, his life" (Viguet). When it is passed in his stools the first time, this is a premonitory warning. When it occurs a second time, it is a clear announcement that the chief is about to die. So chiefs can always know when their time is near. In other clans the crocodile stone is replaced by what is called *ndjalama*. Amongst Nkunas this word designates a kind of bright copper button, which the Pedis of the Palaora mine used to make and sell. But ndjalama also means large sized beads. Whatever it is, some chiefs swallowed the ndjalama and were warned by it of their death. This object, as well as the crocodile stone, is taboo for subjects to swallow. They would die. It is "buloyi bya hosi" — "the magical power of the chief."

643 On account of these powerful and dangerous charms possessed
619 by them, chiefs of different clans regarded it as a taboo to stay in each other's company ; they were afraid lest they might be killed by the magical power of their colleagues. Maphunga

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643 609 574 on good and friendly terms. Should relations between them be at all strained, or should war be imminent, all the roads would be closed and no one allowed to enter the capital.

V. *The Kondza custom.*

641 643 The chief is also approached by those who may wish to become subject to him, to be naturalized ; this is called *kondza*, from a Zulu word conveying this meaning. The chief will assign to the new *nandja* a dwelling place, and he will be incorporated in the nation without further ceremony. By this kondza, he binds himself to pay the taxes (See the story of Mutipi. *Les chants et les contes des Ba-Ronga*, page 164).

Naturalised strangers, however, do not eat the first fruits (luma) with the same drug as the people of the country. They have their own medicine and take it according to their own rules. They are however forbidden to luma before the chief of their adopted land (p. 397).

VI. *Diplomatic relations.*

648 602 726 224 We have seen that these are very carefully conducted, each of the neighbouring clans having one counsellor entrusted with the care of its affairs. In case of war, friendly clans frequently make alliances (shinakulobye). They send messages to each other, or they have special means of communicating news in case of war. Supposing, for instance, Ñwamba and Nondwane should fight against Matjolo. They put two traps at their common boundary, on the side of the road, one on the territory of Ñwamba and one on that of Nondwane. These traps consist of a rod bent by a string fastened to the ground. Should the army of Matjolo have made an invasion during the night into Ñwamba territory and put the people to flight, the men of Nwamba

202 726 will at once go and undo the trap which is on their side ; in the morning, the people of Nondwane will know that they must also fly.

D. THE TRIBUNAL OF THE CHIEF.

642 In the Thonga Court there is no separation of powers. The legislative, executive, and judicial powers are all in the hands of the chief, aided by his counsellors. The chief is the supreme authority and his decisions are without appeal.

I. *Legislative affairs.*

671 The *chief* makes the laws (p. 382) and presides at discussions
643 which end in a resolution. But his counsellors assist him.
583 Here is an example of such a decision taken at Maphunga's court. There was no uniformity as to the money to be paid for a lobolo, and some fathers claimed as much as £ 20 or £ 30 for their daughters. The great counsellors of the capital decided (tjimba mhaka, viz., to tie the matter) that a lobolo should be £ 15.10 as the maximum. They "tied the matter" with the assent of the chief. Then all the sub-chiefs and counsellors were summoned to the capital. The chief called the roll to ascertain if they were all present. The great counsellor then said to the assembly : "The herds which people claim are too large. Have you gold mines and do you know how to make coins ? Henceforth do not lobola with too much money. £ 15.10 is quite enough!" Every sub-chief, on his return home, called his men and informed them of the decision : "Hi to timhaka! Such are the matters!" said they. The subjects were disappointed. They wept! But they had to accept the decision. To oppose it is taboo! "Psa yila!"

643 A *native debate* or discussion is conducted on very different
645 lines from those to which we are generally accustomed, nothing
671 ever being put to the vote. The chief presides. A proposition is

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CHAPTER IV

The Army.

A. WAR-LIKE PROCLIVITIES OF THE THONGAS.

721 726 175 As mentioned in the preliminary chapter (p. 34), in former times the war-like spirit seems to have been but little developed amongst the Thongas. The primitive population possessed no iron weapons, and the invasions which took place from the XV^th^ to the XVIII^th^ century seem to have been peaceful. Conquerors and subjects soon intermarried and no recollection of bloody contests remained. When clans fought against each other, in those remote times, namely before the arrival of the Zulus (1820), they thought they had done doughty deeds when two or three warriors had been killed, and the vanquishers returned home saying : "None of the enemy is left!!" The army used to form in a straight line, not in a circle, as was the case later on under Zulu influence.

175 When the cruel hordes of Manukosi subjugated the plain of Delagoa, all that was changed. Of course the Thonga yimpis were defeated very easily. First of all, those of Maputju and Tembe ; in the country of Matjolo, which was afterwards invaded, the chief Mashekane was so stout that he had been surnamed "Mitahomu ni timhondjo" — "the one who swallows an ox, horns and all..." He fought bravely but was also defeated. In Khosen, says Hendrick, an old man who stayed for years in Rikatla and who was then a child, the aborigines were deceived by the perpendicular sticks which the Ba-Ngoni invaders had fixed to their ox-hide shields ; they mistook them for reeds and thought they could break them easily ; but their three united yimpis, that of Khosen under Mbanyele, of Rikotsho under Makwakwa, and of Shiburi under Shitlhama, were repulsed, broken through by the Zulu phalanx.

175 These Zulus or Ngonis taught the tribes of the plain a system
177 of war much more cruel than the old one: "kill everything,"
726 — such is the rule. No exception is made except in the case
703 of women, who are taken prisoners. The Thonga clans readily accepted this new mode of fighting. They adopted the Zulu system wholesale, the proof of which is that all their military terminology is pure Zulu. Their apprenticeship began during the invasion; the Ba-Ngoni seeing that the Thongas had a certain aptness for war, incorporated them into their own regiments and used to send them forward to the attack, as previously mentioned. They praised them by calling them the *Mabuyandlela* — those who prepare the way, — a kind of nickname which the Thongas have kept to this day and of which they were very proud.

721 However I do not think it would be unfair to the Thongas
175 to assert that the old peaceful basis of their character is still
703 preserved, notwithstanding this influence. We have had an opportunity of judging of their warlike capabilities during the war of 1894-1896 with the Portuguese. (See Appendix X, Short account of two South African wars.) The Natives did not fight from choice. While some of them gave proof of great endurance, and the army fought in some cases with a certain tenacity, Thongas and especially Ba-Ronga did not show themselves very able warriors. Want of discipline, mutual distrust, timidity resulting in frequent retreats, inability to follow up their successes, such were the main causes of their defeat. The wild soldiers of Maputju, who considered themselves the equals of the genuine Zulus, showed their courage only when there was no danger!

B. WAR COSTUME AND WEAPONS.

714 One day when we were comfortably seated under the beautiful tree at our station of Rikatla, a strange looking monster suddenly appeared on the scene, running towards us! The children fled and the women hid themselves... It was Charley, our milk-man, who, with some other warriors, was going to a military review, to be

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

714 in the Chaka army were distinguished by differently coloured shields.) On either side of the central line, from top to bottom, two parallel rows of small square incisions are made (magabela) through which are run strips of hide of a different colour, the effect being a series of oblongs. By an ingenious device the ends of these strips are so tied at the back of the shield as to form several sheath-like nooses into which is inserted the stick by which it is held. The space between the two lines of oblongs is called the back (nhlana) of the shield. The nooses or sheaths are four or six in number : two or three at the top, and two or three at the bottom, a space being left in the middle, where the warrior grasps the stick. This stick tends to strengthen the shield, but, being merely passed through the nooses, it acts also as a pivot around which it can turn ; it is this pivoting action which gives to the shield its chief value as a protection. An assagai (usually thrown with considerable strength) would easily penetrate the ox-hide, but when it strikes the shield, the force of the impact causes it to pivot and the weapon is deflected to one side: should it strike exactly in the middle, it would hit the stick, break it and lose all further impetus. It is hardly necessary to add that the *shitlhangu* of the South African Black is absolutely useless when opposed to bullets ; it was invented to protect the warrior against the dreaded assagai, at a time when firearms were not yet thought of!

713 177 During the last century the Ba-Ronga have begun to use guns for hunting and also for war. Although the sale of firearms to the Natives has often been prohibited, the Ba-Ronga were reported to possess several hundreds of rifles at the commencement of the 1894 war, and also to be fairly proficient in their use... very different from the Madagascans, who removed the sights from their rifles on the score that they were in the way when taking aim!

C. THE MOBILISATION OF THE ARMY.

202 726 643 In the Zihlahla country, when the chief wished to muster his forces, he did so by means of the *shipalapala*, the rudimentary trumpet which I described in the preceding chapter. A swift

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202 726 643 messenger (shigidjimi) ran from village to village, blowing this instrument ; when he was tired he passed it on to some other good runner, who carried the summons further afield ; he ran and ran until he was exhausted, when he handed the trumpet to a third, and so on until the whole country had been covered.

At the sound of the well-known call of the shipalapala, the warriors shout : "A hi hlomen!" — "to arms!" They at once put on their war costumes and repair to the capital.

In Nondwane all the sub-chiefs possessed their shipalapala, and each of them summoned his own people. There the shipalapala mostly sounded to call for dances and for feasts. When the army was mobilised merely to discuss matters quietly, messengers ran through the country shouting : "Mayivonule!" — "take the shields!"..., to which the warriors answered : "A hi hlomen!" — "to arms!" The messenger had to go quickly. "He did not lose time in grinding tobacco ;" he only indicated the time when the army was expected in the capital.

Should matters be more serious, should a hostile yimpi have invaded the territory, every one can give the alarm (tlhabela mukhosi), shouting : "Yi ngeeneeeeeee!" "It has entered!" (viz., the hostile army has invaded our territory). All the women flee away and the men run to the capital.

D. THE MUKHUMBI, THE CIRCLE OF WARRIORS.

643 701 726 Decked out like wild animals, the warriors hasten with all speed to the chief's village, where the regiments muster. The army (1) is divided into a certain number of *battalions, mabotshu, or meboko*, all men of about the same age forming a *botshu*. The *botshu* itself is made up of several *companies, mitlawa* or *mabandla*, and may therefore vary very much in numbers.

(1) Yimpi (pl. tiyimpi) in Thonga corresponds to impi in Zulu.

701 726 In the army of Matjolo there were nine battalions, commencing with that composed of youths from sixteen to twenty years old, up to that of "crown men" (makehla) and the grey beards who where still capable of handling an assagai ; for every able-bodied man is a soldier and makes it a point of honour to join the army when it is mobilised. In the Zihlahla clan, the battalions of young men were called *Megajlela* and also *Ndumakazulu*, "the one who is celebrated as far as Zululand," surname of the chief Ñwamantibyane. After them came the *Nyonibovu*, *Giva*, *Malwabo*, *Djanungwana*.

Mankhelu, the Commander of the Nkuna yimpi, gave me the names of his battalions and the explanation of them. The old men formed the regiment called *Mamphondo*, those of the horns. Some of them used to tie a horn on their foreheads ; they imitated the rhinoceros or the buffalo. The following regiment was the *Mamphisi* (timhisi), the hyenas ; then the *Machoni*, the sea birds, a kind of duck, very swift ; then the *Timbulwane*, a sort of lynx, the *Mafakubi*, representing the ndakazi antelope and, lastly, the most numerous regiment, the *Dhlanazo*, "those who eat with others (dya na bu)." Each regiment has, as we shall see, its own war-cry, in which it imitates the animal whose name it bears.

701 726 202 When all have reached the capital the first procedure is the "formation of the circle," in Thonga *biya mukhumbi*, to fence the circle or *aka mukhumbi*, to build the circle. This is accomplished in the Zihlahla army by a special summons which I might call "the order to fall in." Heralds scatter in all directions, enter the huts, approach the groups encamped around the capital, and shout in a high and monotonous key the following Zulu words. It will be noticed that the formula given is that which was made use of by the heralds in the Mpfumo clan during the war of 1894.

Izwana ! Otyo ndjalo, Muvelu, (1)
Be nga m'thandi ba ka Nkupane,
Umta'ka Sihlahla, esikulu si ka Hamule,
Malobola ge dyose e bulandin ka Mbukwana.

(1) Muvelu, the Zulu surname for Ñwamantibyane.

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726
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Listen! This is what Nwamantibyane says.
He whom the people of Nkupane do not love, (1)
The son of the Great Forest (Sihlahla) of Hamule, (2)
He who took a wife and used the sword in the country of his parents-in-law, in Mbukwane's country.

Gwalagwala a libuvu,
Ilihlengo ngo kubekeka,
Umpathi we sibamo,
U za ku debula Mangole ni Maputukizi.

The royal bird with red plumage (3),
Magnificent to contemplate,
He who holds in his hand a gun
With which he will fire on the Angolese and the Portuguese.

Nduna kuti, lo wa khiti,
Mo nga ngesilwana,
U ti ka: a yi funule!

He whose fame spreads afar, our chief,
Who is as a wild beast,
It is he who says: "To arms!".

701 726 This final exclamation, prolonged and finishing abruptly on the last syllable, carries a long distance; all the warriors jump to their feet and, brandishing their assagais and shields, run to the chief's village, where the circle is to be formed. Each

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(1) The people of Nkupane are one of the younger branches of the royal family of Mpfumo. They lived close to Lourenço Marques, on the other slope of the hill, to the West of the town. They would have liked undoubtedly, in common with many others, to assert their independence by throwing off the yoke of the elder branch, and even attempted to do so when Mahombole tried, in 1867 or in 1869, to overthrow Zihlahla. But the elder branch, whose chiefs were energetic men, succeeded in maintaining its authority over the whole clan. The fact that the people of Nkupane "do not love" Nwamantibyane redounds rather to the credit of the latter.

(2) Nwamantibyane's father was Zihlahla, his grandfather was Hamule. Sihlahla, or Zihlahla, in Zulu means forest, hence the herald's play on the word. The reign of Zihlahla, which we may place at from 1867 to 1883, was very troubled, at least during its first few years. The young chief, on his return from Natal, after the death of his father Hamule, married Mbilwana, a princess of the royal family of Mabota. During the bloody wars then raging, Zihlahla was angry with Mabota (whose chief was Mbukwana), for playing him false, and, one fine day, he made a raid into the country of his parents-in-law, killing many people. To have thus treated his "bakoswana," who are ordinarily held in such great respect, (see Part II) was a proof of valour which is remembered to this day, more than fifty years after the event. It must be said that, after this exploit, Zihlahla left his residence near the town and took refuge in the Nwamba territory; the Whites with whom he was fighting put in his place a certain Nwayeye whose name we shall find in a war song to which we shall have occasion to refer later on.

(3) The nkulunkulu is a bird which is shot in the forest on the borders of the Nkomati; its feathers are red, and only chiefs are allowed to wear them.

701 726 regiment, with its counsellors at its head, is called in turn by the organisers of the army; (at Zihlahla they were Mahagane, the chief's uncle, and Mpompi), and the several companies of the regiments form ranks one behind the other. I have already described this imposing circle, when treating of the coronation of the chief. Every warrior can take in at a glance the entire assemblage. Seen from the interior, it is an unbroken circle of shields, resting perpendicularly on the ground, and all touching; behind, a crowd of men, the greater the number, the deeper the ranks, a forest of feathers waving above their heads.

701 726 561 554 596 The mukhumbi is not however a perfect circle. It is rather like a *horse shoe*, as there remains an *opening* (nyangwa or sangwa), which gives access into it. On either side of this *door* the regiment of the young men takes up its position; the Dhlanazo in the Nkuna mukhumbi and the Ndumakazulu in that of Zihlahla. At the opposite end, facing the entrance, is the *chest of the army* (shifuba sha yimpi), where the chief stands surrounded by the men of riper age, the strongest of whom act as a body guard. Between the chest and the opening, on both sides, the middle-aged warriors occupy the wings, the elder ones nearer the chest, the younger nearer the entrance. This disposition is highly significant; notice that it is exactly the same as that of the village itself, a large door (mharana); on both sides of the entrance, the huts of the unmarried inhabitants (lao and nhanga); at the back the huts of the headman, and, at the sides, those of his younger brothers. The idea of age and of hierarchy entirely dominates both these social manifestations!

701 As regards the numerical strength of the mukhumbi, one of my informants who belonged to the Ndumakazulu regiment —young men from 19 to 25 years old—told me that he estimated the war strength of his regiment at about 500 men: the entire Zihlahla circle might be put at 2000 strong.

I have often seen the Nkuna mukhumbi assembled. I had even the opportunity of addressing its warriors during the Sikororo war of 1901. They were between five and six hundred in all. But this clan is very much scattered and many warriors were not present.

726 703 Before going into battle, certain rites have to be accomplished. In order to stimulate a war-like courage and to imbue the warrior's minds with a certainty of victory, it is necessary to proceed to the performance of the war-songs (guba), of the war dances (gila), and to administer the medicine which will render the soldiers invulnerable.

E. WAR SONGS.

533 539 The performance of war songs is called *guba*. I have already fully described the Mpfumo national song, (p. 373) which would seem to be more adapted to celebrate a coronation than to serve as an incentive to battle ; it is however used indiscriminately for both purposes.

Another war-song which is very popular in the Mpfumo clan is the following :

Zulu : U ngwa si mu thini, Mayeye ?
U banga muhlaba, u bulala bantu !
Ronga : U ta ku mu yini, Nwayeye ?
U banga ntlhaba, u dlaya bhanu !
What will you succeed in doing to him, Nwayeye ?
You take the country and slay the people !

This is a question addressed to Nwayeye, the rival of the chief Zihlahla ; Nwayeye was placed in authority near Lourenço Marques by the Portuguese between 1860 and 1870. He accepted the position, but was unable to retain it any length of time, and the recollection of his failure is perpetuated in this song which is intended to extol the royal family of Mpfumo.

A third song, also in vogue with the Mpfumo warriors, runs thus :

Zulu : Zi m' thini ? A ba ze zi ba bona, abantu bezizwe !
Ronga : Hi ta ku yini ? A ha te hi ba bona, bhanu ba matiko !
What shall we say ? Let them come and let us see them, the people of the enemy's country !

This is a defiance hurled at the adversaries.

533 and Tembe, an antiphon seemingly very ancient, which changes
539 from the minor to the major, producing a truly grandiose effect : (For the music of most of these songs, see Vol. II. Part V.)

"At break of day," sings the solist.....
"Who was it that crowned thee, Muwai, king of Maputju?" reply the warriors.

Muwai is the great-great-grandfather of the chief Mabai, deposed in 1896. He reigned at the close of the XVIII[th] century, his son Makasana having been chief from 1800 to 1850. Muwai is compared to the rising sun, or at least the song recalls his coronation, which must have taken place very early in the morning, at daybreak. It is evidently in praise of the royal family that the entire army chants this glorious souvenir.

Loko ku ti qa, loko ku ti qa
U bekwe ngubane Muwai ?
Muwai, ka Mabudu ! Muwai ka Mabudu !
U bekwe ngubane ?

At day break — At day break
Who was it that crowned thee, Muwai ?
Muwai, king of Maputju ! Muwai, king of Maputju
Who was it that crowned thee ?

726 As we see, the war songs are tolerably short ; a declamation of three or four words by a soloist (musimi) who dances in the middle of the circle, and a chorus sung by all the warriors, stamping their feet on the ground and striking their shields with their assagais. (Hence the exclamation "Eji" found at the close of some sentences.) Or sometimes the whole throng brandish the assagai in a rythmical fashion, raising it first to the right, then to the left, afterwards inclining it to the side, and lastly downwards as if to pierce...

When the great war-induna wants the song to stop, he gives a signal. At once all the shields are elevated and a sibilant murmur runs through the ranks : shi-shi-shi-shi, or a special click : nqu-nqu-nqu. Hence the verb *nqunquzela*, to stop a war song.

And then the war dance will take place.

535 An extraordinary war spirit comes over them all..." And every
703 one having witnessed these performances in the Thonga or Zulu mukhumbi will confess that they are wonderfully impressive. It is a mixture of dramatic, epic and lyric poetry, three literary *genres* which are still confounded, the whole being enhanced by a deep, wild music and subject to the laws of a certain artistic style.

703 The fighting instincts are excited to the highest pitch by these
643 patriotic choruses and dramatic representations. Thus should
726 the troops be slow in making a start, the young men go dancing to the chief and beg him to "grant them permission" to go forth and slay, or rather to "give them men" to slaughter (ku nyika). The Native idea appears to be that the chief holds the lives of the enemies in his hands ; without his permission they cannot go forward, but this once given, they rush enthusiastically to the fray. They even go so far as to taunt him with being an old woman, a coward, because he will not let them go at once (1).

When the excitement has reached the culminating point, and it has been definitely decided to fight, the time has arrived for the magic treatment by which the warriors will be rendered invulnerable.

G. ADMINISTERING THE WAR-MEDICINE.

726 This custom is probably of ancient origin, but I have reason
177 to believe that, amongst the Ba-Ronga, it was practised without
789 any great formality until the advent of the Zulu influence, when
751 it was brought into much greater prominence and invested with more solemnity. "Drinking the war-medicine" took place on several occasions during the revolt of 1894 to 1895. At *Zihlahla* this potion was administered to all warriors before the rebel attack

(1) Gungunyana, on one occasion, when his warriors were importuning him with similar requests, sent the more ardent spirits to wage war unarmed against the wild beasts, and I was told they actually succeeded in capturing a leopard alive and brought it back to the chief !

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726 on the town of the 14th October 1894 ; also prior to the ambuscade
789 in the outskirts of Lourenço Marques, on the 7th January 1895,
751 and before the battle of Morakwen, the 2nd February following. According to my informant, the chief doctor of the army prepared the medicine in a huge dish with leaves and roots cut into slices. These ingredients possessed an effervescent quality ; the medicine-man stirred up the decoction and with it sprinkled the whole army formed in a circle. After this every warrior was fully persuaded that he was invulnerable, that the bullets would be deflected on either side of him, or, even should they hit him, they would be flattened against his body and fall harmless to the ground. The charm could only be broken by the warrior turning his back to the foe. Then the bullets might pass through him. I have met with very intelligent Natives who were perfectly convinced of this fact, although open to reasonable argument on all other points. They told me that certain Natives who were bowled over by grapeshot, picked themselves up after the fight, came to life again, or rather regained consciousness and then, with their fingers, extracted the bullets, which had all remained imbedded in the skin!

A *Nondwane* warrior described to me, in the following terms, the administering of the magic potion, as it was done on the 7th January 1895 before the battle of Morakwen. The whole army was assembled at Nkanyen, on the bank of the Nkomati. It was there that the magician prepared the medicine, with two young girls as assistants. While he was brewing the mixture and making it froth, the soldiers, formed in a semi-circle, looked on, standing erect, poising their assagais on a level with their
726 heads. Then a *ntjhopfa* was cut down (the shrub of oblivion,
789 often employed by Native doctors and of which we have already
751 noted the use in other ceremonials) and a branch laid across the
824 road. The several battalions were called up, one after the other, and every man had to jump over the branch and take a mouthful of the medicine, which he spat out again, pronouncing the sacramental *tsu* which accompanies the offerings made to the gods : he subsequently went off, running and dancing and getting ready to go forth and kill. When each one had taken his share of the medicine and it was all finished, the doctor said to them : "Now I

726 have given you all my strength ; go and slay." They crossed the
789 river at night and having reached the left bank, at a point about ten
751 kilometers from the Portuguese camp at Morakwene, they were made to observe the strictest silence for a long time. Then they felt that valour (burena) had taken possession of them!

Amongst the Ba-Nkuna the war-medicine is also administered under the form of *sprinkling*. This sprinkling may take place in time of peace, when danger threatens. The chief kills a black ox and the army, summoned to the capital, is sprinkled and eats the flesh of the ox. This will make the country ready for any eventuality. But the ceremony is much more serious when war is at hand. Then the "great medicine of the country," carefully kept in the calabashes of the Court magicians, is mixed with *psanyi* of slaughtered sheep and with white sand taken from the river. During the night, the mukhumbi is formed and all the men sit down, their heads bowed over their knees,
726 their eyes closed, in perfect silence. Then one of the queens,
789 an old woman who no longer has any sexual relations, enters
751 the circle, absolutely naked. She dips a leafy branch into the
562 magical infusion and marches all round, inside and outside, sprinkling all the warriors and muttering the following words : "Kill them, break their pots, kill their dogs, catch their chief, bring him here, bring so-and-so and so-and-so." The warriors tremble with emotion. They pray to their gods in a low tone : "Save me! Help me!" But none of them dares to raise his eyes! They know quite well that they would die!

It is extremely important that the officiating woman should be old and have had no sexual relations for a long time, or "the assagais would lose their strength ; the masculine weapons would become blind and the feminine weapons alone would see... The woman would have untied the knot of the assagai ; she would cross the way (tjemakanya) of the great medicine... She must be a quiet woman (a rula)". (Mankhelu).

726 Similar customs exist in *Mapatju*, where the medicine is called
789 "the medicine of hatred,"—that which dispels all natural feeling
828 and makes a man capable of killing his fellow-man! I give the particulars of this curious medical treatment as I have them from

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726 one of the Natives of the country : there are no fewer than seven
789 acts in this grand performance of "preparation for battle."
643 *a)* In the first place when the chief foresees that a campaign is
828 imminent, he has water drawn, and all the necessary ingredients gathered together : then he goes into retirement for one month, during which he is busy preparing the medicine with the magician who knows all about the recipe.

b) At the end of this time the entire army is summoned to the capital. A bull is brought out before the assembled soldiers and the chief strikes it on the head with a stick : this infuriates the animal, which must be caught and thrown down by the men unarmed ; the chief then approaches and kills it with an axe. They dismember the carcase, cutting off the flesh in strips, which they cook in a large battered pot, stirring it with their assagais and pouring into it at the same time "the medicine of hatred."

c) On this day the army is mustered and formed in a circle. The Commander-in-Chief takes the meat, cuts it into small pieces and mixes with it certain human ingredients : a finger taken from a hostile petty chief killed in battle has been carefully preserved ; the dried up phalange is scraped and the bone-dust thus obtained is mixed with the medicine. This additional ingredient is to prevent any feeling of remorse, any prickings of conscience : "ku susa lipfalo," literally "to remove the diaphragm," the seat of the conscience, according to Ronga ideas. (See later on a more probable explanation of this rite.) The Commander-in-Chief takes the pieces of meat thus seasoned and throws them into the mouths of the soldiers, who must not touch them with their hands. The food must be received between the teeth ; any meat falling to the ground is picked up by the children.

d) On the following day, the whole army proceeds to a large lake (the lake of Shika, near the village of Nhlampfukazi) to be treated with another medicine, an emetic. This is placed on a skin in the middle of the lake : the skin is withdrawn, leaving the particles of the drug floating on the water ; each warrior must stoop down and swallow a mouthful of the emetic. He will vomit yesterday's meat : "fear will be thrown up and valour will remain"

726/643 (ku hlantiwile butoya, ku sele burena). The chief having meanwhile taken up his position on a neighbouring hill, the several regiments rush towards him, surround him and beg to be sent as soon as possible to fight and to slay.

726 643 372 789 *e)* But, before this can be done, the chief returns to the capital, the army following him. A double trial has still to be undergone. A large broom is made of small branches of trees soaked in fat from sheep's tails and is then set on fire. The chief walks round carrying his flaming torch, passing it rapidly before the faces of the warriors formed in a circle. Some of the helmets catch fire and the wearers are promptly ordered to fall out of the ranks. The chief addresses them in angry tones : "Deliver up to me," he says, "the charms you are concealing! 'Tis only I, the chief, who may possess enchanted drugs. You certainly have some, as your plumes took fire... Look at the other warriors ; the feathers on their heads are not burnt!" This trial is probably a means of frightening suspected traitors or of expelling wizards (baloyi).

726 643 789 *f)* All shields are now "presented" all round the circle. The chief bends back the point of an assagai and with it strikes each shield, but not with sufficient force to pierce it... This "consecration" of the shields will doubtless make them a more secure protection against the enemy's weapons.

g) Lastly the series is closed by the "aspersion." A mortar is produced in which some leaves are soaking ; these are stirred round in water and the chief sprinkles the whole army. This is the final ceremony. The chief remains at home : the warriors thus fortified and protected against all dangers start on their expedition.

This last act only is performed in the clans of Shirindja, Nwamba and Zihlahla.

H. ON THE WAR PATH. THE BATTLE. STRATEGY. PANICS. RETURN HOME.

726 The *mukhumbi* has been "built" for the last time. Proclamations have all been issued. Nothing remains but to start.

This *starting of the army* (ku thethwa) is also done according to

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726 prescribed rites. I once witnessed it, when the Nkuna army went
701 to Sikororo's country on a kind of punitive expedition. The great ndjuna of the army, the Commander-in-Chief, Mankhelu, his stern face grimmer than ever, holding a hyena's tail in his hand, clad in a white shirt which was very little in keeping with the whole appearance of the mukhumbi, stepped inside the large circle and raised his tail... Then the *Dhlanazo*, the young bloods, ran towards him shouting : "Kwe-kwe-kwe!" Their cry is the same as that of the *Timbulwana* (lynx), their elders, who came next. Mankhelu pointed the tail in a certain direction and these two regiments started. The *Mafakubi* came in their turn, imitating the galop of the antelopes : "tshwi-tshwi-tshwi! gwu gwu... hwu, hwu!... eka-ka-ka-ka..." and finally shouting : "N'ta dya na man" — "with whom shall I eat it ?" — a strange sentence which may be, as previously mentioned, a reminiscence of a totemic period! (See page 366)... The *Matsyoni*, the seabirds, followed shouting "tswe-tswe-tswe ;" the *Mamphondo*, those of the horn, came shouting "tshuba-tshuba-tshuba" and imitating buffalos and rhinoceroses. The *Maphisi* started last, howling wildly like hyenas : "hum-hum-hum..."

726 If the field of battle is far away, if there is a long march to
533 be made, special *marching songs* are sung on the road. The
539 most impressive is the following : a soloist sings in a very high key :

Abafo! — The enemy!

and the whole army answers in a rich and tuneful melody :

Enena-a-a! a-a! — Here they are!

All the shields are held straight, ready to meet the foe.
Here are two other marching songs :

Nangu moya wa tshisizwe !
We are the fire which burns the country !
Inkonyana ya ndlopfu inhlezio baen...
The calf of the elephant is exposed on the plain...

This means the chief who is in danger! Let us protect and deliver him.

726 As regards the *order of the march*, the battalions of the young
701 men, stationed on either side of the entrance, go first ; they
643 form the advanced guard, the post of greatest danger. The scouts, tinhlori (Dj.) tinhloli (Ro.), go in front ; each company has its leader to whom these scouts bring reports. It is the duty of the young men to surround the position to be carried and to make the assault. The two sides of the circle then follow, and lastly the chest of the army, forming the rear guard. The chief thus brings up the rear, protected by the battalions of veterans. But generally the chief does not go to battle ; he remains at home.

726 During the campaign, *the whole clan is subjected to many taboos.*
784 Those who remain at home must *keep quiet* (rula). No noise
777 must be heard in the villages. The women must not close the
722 doors of the huts. It is taboo : their husbands might meet with "bitterness" (shibiti). They might lack strength to run away. Fire must be lit in the huts in the evening, in order that the warriors may "have light" where they are. It is taboo to omit this precaution. Work in the fields must be more or less suspended ; women may attend to it in the morning only, before the heat of the day, while the air is still fresh. "Then, if a warrior has stepped on a thorn, the thorn will be cool (titimeta) ; if he has knocked against a stump, the stump will be quiet and not hurt him. (Mboza.)" Old men who remain at home must keep watch, and if they see a messenger coming, they follow him to the chief.
765 Should he bring bad news, they do not inform the women, as it is
726 taboo to mourn over warriors killed in war before the return of the
834 army. A fine is imposed upon those who contravene this law.
777 It is taboo also to have sexual relations as long as the army is on the
784 war-path. This would cause thorns to hurt the warriors and they would be defeated. (Mankhelu.)

722 According to Mankhelu, the mukhumbi may be again formed after arriving in the proximity of the hostile army. The
643 battalions will be sent one after the other by the great ndjuna who
726 will watch the progress of the fight. If he sees his men giving way, he "pours" (tshelela) new companies to help those who are fighting until they rush the position (gwabula) and put the enemy to flight. Then the pursuit begins. The dust flies up

726 to heaven! The vanquishers follow their enemies until they reach their villages. As a rule, *they kill every one*; women, children, old men and tired warriors who have been unable to run away. They take the oxen and burn the huts. However exceptions are made in some instances: Sigaole, the ally of the Whites, ordered his warriors to spare the lives of the people of Zihlahla, during the expedition of February 1895, and to take them prisoners instead. "If you find any inhabitants remaining in the villages" said he "go into them. Let some one draw a line on the ground around the village and forbid the soldiers to cross it and to massacre the people." Generally speaking, however, the only lives spared are those of the younger women and girls of whom they can hope to make some profit, either by taking them as wives or selling them to others for matrimonial purposes. These prisoners are called "heads" (tinhloko) (1). This is the only kind of slavery practised by our tribe. Such wives are not ill-treated, as a rule.

726 567

726 So far I have described the war-customs of the Natives when fighting with each other. Let me add some particulars taken from the Thonga-Portuguese war of 1894-1896 (App. X.) which throw some light on the Native modes of fighting against White people.

* * *

726 175 When opposed to White troops, the attack en masse would be too dangerous: regiments advancing in serried ranks would offer too good a target to the European artillery. From information I have gathered with reference to the battle of Makupe or Magule (Sept. 8 1895), it would appear that the Ba-Ronga advanced in skirmishing order, those provided with guns approaching very close to the lines of the Whites. During this fight, one of the most important of the whole campaign, the Portuguese Commanding Officer, M. F. d'Andrade, shewed great presence of mind: the Zihlahla and Nondwane

(1) Two women, members of our Church, were carried off in this way by some of the Zihlahla men (6th October 1894), and we had the greatest trouble in finding them. They were seized close to the town, while going to their food-stores and their captors had duly married them with the acquiescence of their chief.

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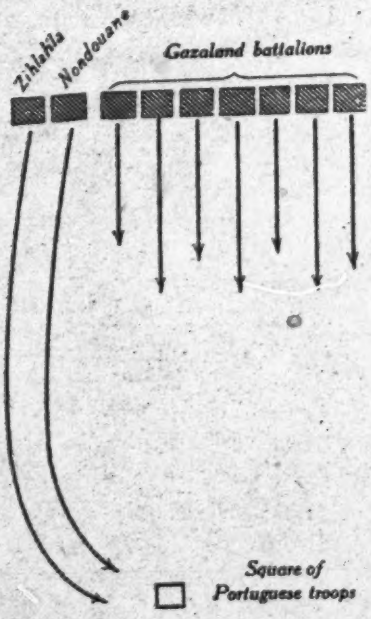
726/175 warriors came into almost actual contact with the Portuguese square, whilst the Gaza regiments, which were in greatly superior force, remained at a distance and then retreated. They had been told by Gungunyana that they were not to kill White men, so their presence was a mere parade. The Ba-Ronga finding themselves thus deserted followed the same tactics! One of the warriors present on this occasion drew me a plan of the engagement on the floor of a hut! (See accompanying sketch).



On the whole it must be admitted that the Natives of these parts seem greatly to prefer surprise attacks, sudden descents upon peaceful and unsuspecting folk, to any kind of regular pitched battle.

The Swazis used to arrive in the Delagoa plain very early in the morning, surround the villages and massacre indiscriminately all the inhabitants, in the years 1860-1870. The Ngonis of Gungunyana adopted the same method. The Matjolo warriors, whom the Portuguese sent against Zihlahla in February 1895, encamped in perfect silence within one hour's march of the spot where Nwamantibyane had taken refuge (Nhlalalene) and attacked his people when they least expected them. They indulged in the pleasure of killing numbers of women and children, whilst their male enemies fled into the palm marshes, shouting vociferously : "Make ready your rope to climb up to heaven... There will be no more rest on earth for you! Cook three meals : you may eat two but never a third." Empty threats! The greater part of the Native fights during this war consisted in ambuscades and treacherous slaughterings : lots of noise, plenty of bluster, but not much real bravery.

We shall arrive at the same estimate of Native valour if we consider *the great campaign* planned by Gungunyana in concert with Zihlahla

726 and Mahazule, who had taken refuge in Gaza, during July-August 1895.
175 Nine regiments, representing a large effective force, were to start from Manzimehlope, the country beyond the Nkomati River; three of these were to ascend the left bank of the river, to cross it in the neighbourhood of Komati-Poort and to enter Swaziland, the Ngoni chief having made alliance with the Swazis. The other regiments were to cross the Nkomati to the West of the Sabie, and thence to go southward by Moveni. The remaining three, with whom were incorporated Zihlahla and Mahazule, were to ravage Shirindja, Ntimane and Nondwane, passing about one hour's march to the West of Lourenço Marques, exterminating the inhabitants of Matjolo (allies of the Whites), whose retreat to the town would be thus cut off... The nine regiments were to effect a junction at a place called Nkobotlwene, to the South of the Bay, where the forces of Gungunyana would fraternise with those of Maputju, with whom they were on good terms. For the space of seven months, tens of thousands of these warriors were to overrun the country
726 and to annihilate all the tribes opposed to Gungunyana. The chief
609 would not massacre the Whites, nor would he attack their town: he
175 calculated on rendering them powerless by depriving them of the assistance of their Black allies, and expected them thus to sue for peace on honourable terms! Such, at least, was the plan of campaign which transpired after Gungunyana had been made prisoner, in the centre of his own country of Gaza, by a party of about forty White soldiers! The whole thing culminated in a single day's skirmish in the Ntimane country. The petty chiefs quarrelled amongst themselves; only a few hardy warriors dared to cross the Nkomati and slaughtered some women at a short distance from the outpost of Chinabane. Finding themselves discovered, they at once recrossed the river and made off to the Northward.

578 The principal causes of the incapacity in military matters so noticeable amongst the Blacks during the war of 1894-1896, are doubtless the *internal jealousies* between the tribes and also, it must be said, the mysterious dread inspired by the White race, their artillery and their superior discipline.

726 The feeling of mistrust existing between Matjolo and Nwamba,
175 Nondwane, Zihlahla and Shirindja, also explains the terrible *panics*
703 which occured during the military operations. On several occasions the Native forces were subject to panics which might have entailed the most serious results. As an instance I relate the following, which nearly led to the partial destruction of the Matjolo army. The Matjolo

726 warriors, as also those of Ñwamba, had received orders from the
175 Whites, at the end of January 1895, to attack Zihlahla and Mahazule.
703 One of the young men of Matjolo, who was present during the operations, told me this story : "We were to have joined the men of Ñwamba at a village called Mukapan, but did not find them at the rendez-vous. As they had made common cause with Zihlahla at the beginning of the revolt, we had not much confidence in them. It looked as if they were in hiding and intended to attack us treacherously and kill us. At this time two panics occured. The first was at Hukwen, when a man dreamt that he was being killed, and cried out : "Yo! Uwe! There are people who are killing me!" It was pitch dark. Every one jumped to his feet. Some ran to hide in the forest, but others shouted : "The enemy are here!" Fighting began in the regiment of Geba, (composed of men of the same age as Sigaole, the chief), but no one was killed. A few individuals who kept their presence of mind restored order, but we came very near exterminating each other! The next night a Chopi of our troop had a fright, and cried out : "Why do you want to kill me, you men of Matjolo ? I will tell Sigaole's mother." He was promptly secured and forced to keep quiet for fear that he would rouse the Nondwane people, etc. A similar panic seized the troops of Mahazule, when they went to lay waste the country round Lourenço Marques (October 1894).

726 To avoid these panics, as far as possible, the Ba-Ronga arrange a
192 *password* before starting on an expedition. I was able to learn two of these countersigns, after the war, by questioning some young men who had taken part in certain military operations. On one occasion the pass-word was as follows : "Be ge pi ?" These are Zulu words signifying : "What are you looking at ?" The requisite answer being : "Be ge pezulu"—"We are looking at the sky." In the famous attack made by the Zihlahla warriors on the town of Lourenço Marques, on 14th October 1894, the word was : "U landu bane ?"—"With whom have you a quarrel ?"—and the reply : "Ngi landa Mlungu!"—"I have a quarrel with the white man!"

727 *Return from the battle.* When a yimpi has been defeated in
765 battle, but is not pursued by the enemy, it returns silently and disperses before reaching the capital, each warrior going back ashamed to his village. Mourning takes place in the villages of the deceased. But much lamenting is not allowed. It may be that the chief will prohibit any mourning if many have been

727 765 killed, "because the whole country would mourn : — they have not been killed by the mat (likuku) at home, but by the assagai on the battle-field! They are men! If any one weeps he will have to pay £ 2." (Mboza.)

726 703 When the Maputju yimpis fought against Nondwane in 1876, in the battle which took place near Malangotiba, (3 km west of Rikatla), they were decimated and eventually repulsed. Their chief Musongi sent them back to fight again. They refused. Then he punished them in the following way : he condemned them to go and fetch water with pots, like women, but they had to go on their knees to the pool, saying : "It is the result of our cowardice" — (Ngi ndaba ya bugwala). Afterwards they had to extinguish a bush fire with their hands, and came home very much scorched and burnt.

When the yimpi is victorious, the return is marked by important 727 songs called *hubu* (cl. dji-ma). The regiments follow each other, 533 each singing his own *hubu*, and they at once build the mukhumbi 535 when they reach the village of the chief. They dance, dance their doughty deeds. Suddenly silence is required ; the counsellors narrate to the chief how the fighting has proceeded and tell him the names of those who have killed enemies, those who have struck the first blow and their *bahlomuri*, viz., those who transfixed the leg and the arm. After which the heroes "gila" to their heart's content, together with the bahlomuri. They are proud! They are applauded! They are the great men of the day, the *tingwaza*, the saviours of the chief!

This leads me to consider the very curious customs connected with the slayers and the slain on the battle-field.

I. THE FATE OF THE SLAIN AND THE TREATMENT OF THE SLAYERS.

1. *The fate of the slain.*

554 When a man has slain an enemy, he has covered himself with 727 the most enviable glory : he has the right to perform the war-dance before the chief. He takes away all the garments from

000 smoke, and rub the incisions with the powder. They will then be able to aim straight (See Annotatio 15). The powder specially prepared from the tendons of slain enemies will be spread on the paths during future wars ; foes marching on it unknowingly will suddenly become unable to walk and will easily be killed.

The Zulus are said to have the same customs as the Pedis.

726 I cannot guarantee that all the Thonga clans observe all these 789 customs.[1] The Nkuna magicians, in olden times, before they were 278 influenced by their Pedi neighbours, used to dissect the tendons 751 of the back (riringa) of the slain enemy, which they smeared 826 with his medulla and hung to the shields of the warriors... Enemies seeing these shields would "tjemeka nhlana" — "have their backs broken," a figurative expression which means to be terror stricken. A part of the body was also preserved and mixed with the war-medicine ; the idea which underlies this custom being evidently this : when you have eaten the flesh of your enemies, you have absorbed all their strength and they are unable to do you any further harm (1). We have seen that the "mbhulo," the "nyokwekulu," all the powerful "medicines of the country" carefully kept in each clan, contain a little human flesh. These drugs are used as protective war medicines ; most probably owing to the same principle.

II. *The treatment of the slayers.*

727 To have killed an enemy on the battle-field entails an immense 775 glory for the slayers ; but that glory is fraught with great danger.

266 (1) This custom is the only remnant of anthropophagy remaining amongst the Thongas, and I wonder if this superstition is not the true explanation of the origin of cannibalism. Where cannibalism still prevails, as amongst the Fañ of the Congo, I am told that the bodies eaten are generally those of hostile clans, or occasionally that of a wife (who belongs to another clan according to the laws of exogamy). Is it not probable that, in the beginning, these feasts had a ritual and military value similar to that which we find in the administering of the war-medicine in South African tribes? In the course of time, the Fañ acquired a taste for human flesh and ate it for their own pleasure. Dealing with anthropophagy, I must not forget that it occurred in several instances in South Africa after the devastation brought about by the Zulu expeditions of 1820-1830. In Zoutpansberg, in the mountains of Drakensberg, Natives reduced to starvation began to eat their fellow men. This also happened in the Bokhakha during the reign of Queen Male. (See Part IV.)

1[See pp. 476-477 -- Analyst]

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J. SOME REMARKS ABOUT WAR RITES.

177 726 The war rites of the Thongas, whatever may be their origin — and they seem to be a mixture of old Thonga and new Zulu customs, — form a very interesting and complete whole.

643 726 829 The most noticeable are the *national rites*. In war time, the very existence of the clan is threatened, because the chief, the central and vital cell of this organism, is in danger. Hence the readiness of all the warriors to answer to the first call of the *shipalapala*, and to gather round him, "building the circle," which protects him, the whole clan forming a single village and binding itself by the striking ceremonies of *guba* and by patriotic songs, to die for him. Notice that most of the *guba* songs extol the chief. All these customs in which the individual or collective courage is stimulated, the *guba* and the *gila*, are national or social rites directed towards the salvation of the clan. They owe their origin to the national idea.

But war also brings dangers to every warrior. Hence the *protective* rites of sprinkling the mukhumbi with the war-medicine of the clan, or of giving each man some of it to swallow. The rite is inspired by the notion *similia similibus curantur*, the idea being that the warrior, having eaten a small portion of the enemy, will become invulnerable to his blows.

But other rites, especially the war taboos, seem to owe their origin to the *idea of passage*.

726 829 834 The *whole clan* enters upon a special phase as soon as war has been decided upon by the chief, "who gives it" to his warriors. Hence the taboos observed at home, many of which are exactly the same as those of the circumcision school and of the period of mourning. We notice the same contrast already so often mentioned : certain sexual prohibitions are removed (e. g. a queen will enter quite naked into the mukhumbi!)

727 775 761 tions (before 1890). Three persons of that family died. The bones were consulted and the diviner asked : "Have you not slain a Ndjao?" They answered: "Yes." — "Then," said the bone-thrower "you will all die as this man has followed you." The bones showed that, in order to avoid the destruction of their family, the Ndzindzis had to offer a girl to the ghost of the slain, a living sacrifice. This girl would not be allowed to marry, or even to be courted by boys. Should she have relations with a man it would be necessary to replace her by another. Thus the angry ghost would be propitiated.

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726 On the other hand sexual relations, which are allowed in ordinary
829 life, become taboo. This period of fighting seems really to be
834 considered as a marginal period for the whole tribe.

It is so par excellence *for the warriors* and I think that many of the rites imposed upon them are to be explained in this way. As we saw, the period of margin is generally preceded by separation rites. (See page 74.) Some of these, which are very characteristic, are performed when the army starts: the leave-taking from the General with wild shouts, the custom of swallowing a piece of meat without touching it with the hands and taking an emetic afterwards, that of jumping over the ntjhopfa branch, the medicine of oblivion! etc. The triumphant return, the partaking of the meat of the oxen which have been taken, may be the aggregation ceremonies, viz., the acts by which the warriors return to their ordinary life.

726 Passage rites are still more distinct *in the case of the slayers*; but
829 their condition is worse, as it implies the idea of defilement following
304 upon murder and is attended with the danger proceeding from the *nuru*.
182 They are "hot" (an expression which also applies to the tabooed woman
783 during her menses etc.); they are "black" (an epithet which also designates the grave-diggers, the bereaved mother, etc.). Hence a *seclusion* much more complete, a true period of margin with many alimentary and sexual (1) taboos. Possibly the incisions on the brow are an old kind of tatooing in connexion with this marginal period, similar to the inguinal incision of the widows (p. 201). The purification rites are of the same kind as those of the mourners, and particularly of the grave-diggers. The return to society, after their seclusion, is marked by rites of separation from the marginal period, which no doubt aim at getting rid of the defilement connected therewith. (Exposure of the *mizilo* outside the village in the bush.) Is it not striking to notice the correspondence between these rites in their peculiar sequence and those of the circumcision school, of mourning, of moving a village?

See, as a conclusion to Part III, Practical Conclusions, No. VI: "The New era and the Future of the South African Tribe."

834 (1) The sexual taboos are so severe that, after the Mooudi battle, one of the slayers
727 took great offence at a man who dared to touch his food, as the man was living in his home and had relations with his wife. The slayer was afraid that this contact might cause his own death or bring misfortune to his family.

778 the ceremony of tying the cotton string (I. p. 56. Sexual relations
782 have been prohibited to her from the birth of her child up to the performance of this rite. She is consequently pure). The chief may penetrate into it, but only if he has abstained from intercourse with his wives for a whole week. Mankentwane himself must observe this law, otherwise the "medicine, muri" would be spoiled and lose all its virtue. (The sexual taboo, in this case, is evidently dictated by the fact that the mhamba is directly connected with military matters, as we shall see. Compare I. p. 470.) In this sacred hut the old woman constantly keeps up a fire which is maintained with the logs of a certain tree, called shibondjwane, cut by the subjects at the command of the chief. Now and again she exposes the skins to the rays of the sun in order to kill the worms which attack them. Should enemies invade the country, she escapes, carrying the bundle in a mat. If they come up with her, she at once disappears (nyumba) leaving the mat on the spot. As soon as an enemy has taken hold of it, he becomes insane ; he begins to wander about in the bush, unable to return home. When the war is over, the old woman goes to the place where she left the mhamba ; if she does not immediately find it there, her heart is not in the least troubled. The bones are thrown, and reveal where the mhamba has been put by the enemy. Two days
778 do not elapse before it is found! The great mhamba is used first
782 of all for the preparation of military expeditions. A small portion
726 of the fingers and of the faces is cut off and these pieces are mixed with the other war charms ; a pill is made and placed on a piece of broken pottery over a fire in the sacred wood. All the warriors pass by one after the other and expose their assegais, their legs, and their faces to the smoke ; finally the great ñanga puts the fire out and the army is ready to start. But the Shirindja mhamba also plays a great part in the National religious ceremonies, as in the other clans (1).

171 (1) It is interesting to compare the Thonga *great mhamba* with two objects found
778 amongst other Bantu tribes. The first of these is the *byiri* of the Pahuins of the French Congo. This is a most powerful fetish consisting of a skull kept in a box in the huts of these people, in a dark corner; it is used as a means of obtaining wealth and of discovering wizards. In former times it is said to have been the skull of the father of the owner of the hut which had been dug up by him and smeared with drugs. In